

Information Digest



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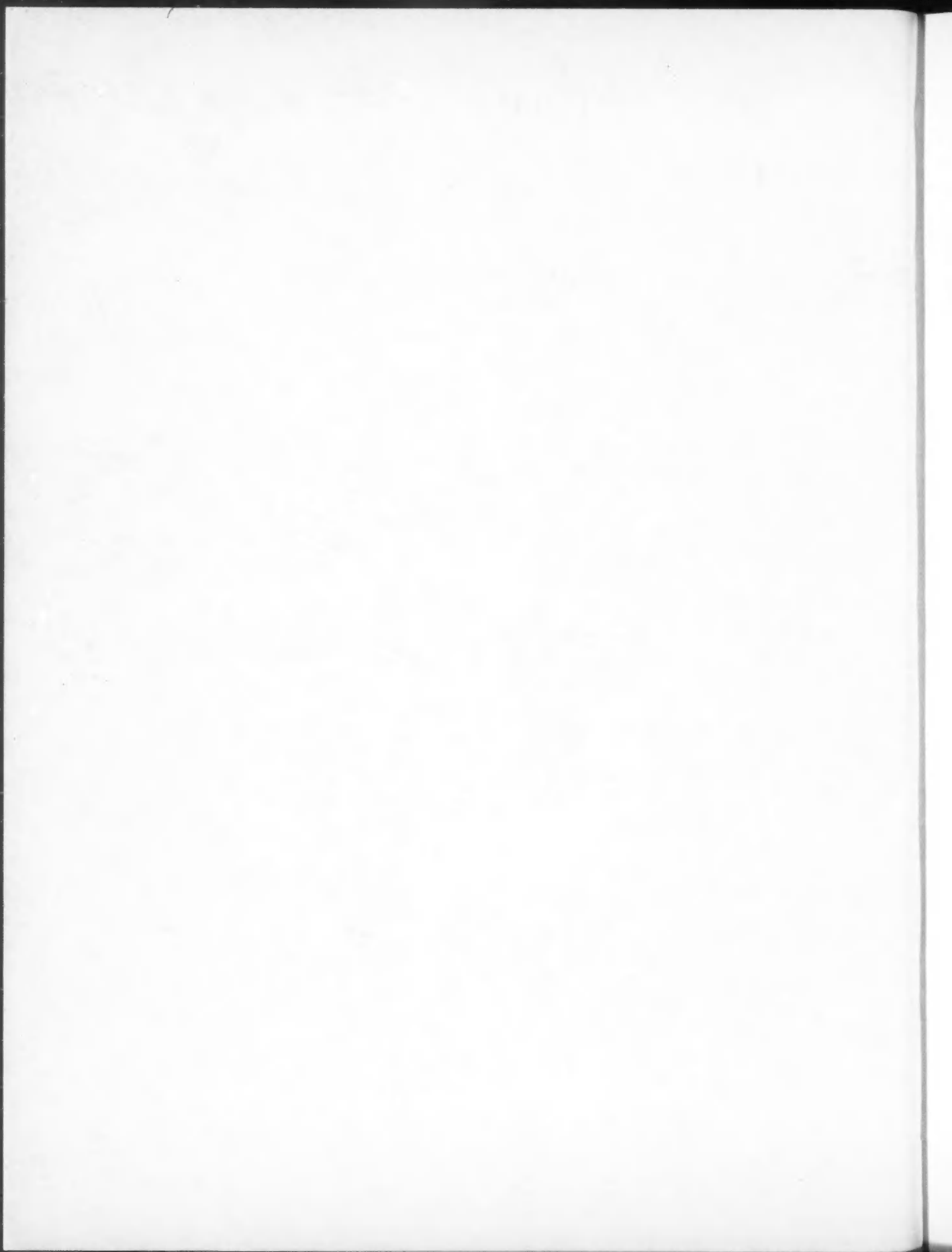
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Honorary Presidents: MISS MARY ATTLEE, THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL JOHN BAILLIE, SIR MAURICE BOWRA, JAMES CRAWFORD, THE RT. HON. ISAAC FOOT, PROFESSOR ARTHUR LEWIS, MISS VIOLET MARKHAM, THE REV. PROF. C. E. RAVEN, THE REV. DR. W. E. SANGSTER, RT. REV. J. L. WILSON.

Executive Committee: LORD HEMINGFORD (*Chairman*), LADY PAKENHAM, THE RT. HON. A. CREECH JONES, JOHN H. MACCALLUM SCOTT, THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT (*Director*).

Secretary: MISS MARY BENSON.



A. COMMENT

One of the outstanding features of the Eighth Session of the General Assembly in 1953 was the exhaustive treatment given to South African questions which in different committees occupied the attention of the Assembly almost throughout the session. The debates on South West Africa and the treatment of Indians in South Africa were resumed for the eighth time. During the years of debating and negotiating South Africa has more than once walked out of committees and uttered veiled threats of withdrawal from the U.N. altogether. Despite Dr. Malan's trenchant denunciation of the U.N. as "a cancer destroying the peace of the world" the U.N. pursued its objective analysis of the whole economic, social and political structure of the South African state as an essential preparatory step towards examining all the possible means open to the International Community of assisting South Africa in the solution of problems which are now overflowing the boundaries of the Union and "endanger not only the domestic peace of the country concerned but are likely to impair the general welfare or the friendly relations among nations ... as well as the populations affected."

No one attending the Eighth Session of the Assembly could fail to notice that the South African situation has now become generally recognised even by some of the Colonial Powers as a major challenge to the U.N. Despite intensive lobbying South Africa was unable to secure a single vote in its favour on the question of South West Africa, and despite the questions of precedent which were raised by the white Commonwealth countries, the U.S.A. and the Scandinavian and several South American countries, there was an overwhelming vote in favour of continuing the work of the Commission on Apartheid.

One had the feeling that not only was the future of all Africa bound up in the issues being debated in the Apartheid question, but that the kind of civilisation which the U.N. stands for was implicit in them. The doctrine of white supremacy has been organised into a state system in that South Africa, and the U.N. can no more evade the challenge of it than the League could afford to evade the questions of Manchuria and Abyssinia. That the League did so, and that this began a process which ended with von Ribbentrop defying the League and thus opening the way for events which menaced civilisation in Europe, could not have been absent from the minds of those who took part in this historic debate. It is significant that it happened in New York at the time when the prospect of peace in Korea was brightening and when a new hope and inspiration came from the West with General Eisenhower's dire warning and daring suggestion for canalising atomic energy towards the peaceful and constructive aims of the U.N.

Much will depend on the way in which the U.N. Commission on South Africa's race policies handles its task. The Commission's work could be done in ways that would secure the increasing approval and support of all sections of the population in South Africa. Despite talk of a possible economic recession it is not too late for attention to be focussed on the huge areas of Africa waiting for capital and technical assistance. The U.S. and the United Kingdom between them hold the destiny of much of Africa, and the part of Asia still remaining under the influence of the 'West' in their hands. The opportunity for a new deal in Africa is not yet lost. The United Nations could be a very important factor in the future of Africa: the Western Powers will have to make up their minds whether they are going to support it in the tasks which have been given it, or allow the efforts to find true solutions to the problems there to be frittered away in futile and barren discussion. The technical assistance programme is still ridiculously inadequate while the offers of the U.S. to give aid continue to be spurned by Britain and other administering powers.

Although the events of the Eighth Session were not spectacular the Session did seem to mark a new stage in the development of the U.N. towards its self realisation as a responsible instrument of humanity's hopes of liberation from the bondage of poverty, ignorance and backwardness. Even a little greater enthusiasm and magnanimity on the part of the "Colonial Powers" would help in the development of the U.N.

as a universally recognised forum and instrument of the awakening conscience of the world: a conscience which is awakening to the gigantic tasks of applying the present technological renaissance to the use of the natural resources of the earth in order to defeat those enemies of civilisation which are no less formidable than war itself.

Michael Scott.

B. UNITED NATIONS

1. South-West Africa

A resolution setting up a Committee to carry on the functions formerly performed by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was passed by the General Assembly, by 46 votes to one (South Africa) with 12 abstentions. The U.K., AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, FRANCE, BELGIUM & the SOVIET BLOC were among those who abstained.

In the course of the debate in the Fourth Committee the HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON U.S. representative said "The U.S. continues to believe that the best solution to the South-West African question lies in the devising of means to implement the Court's opinion, according to which the Union of South Africa continues to have the international obligations stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Mandate for South-West Africa." She regretted that South Africa had not found it possible to meet the wishes of the Ad Hoc Committee that had attempted to negotiate a settlement with the Union Government under the terms of the International Court's advice.

MR. HERMOD LANNUNG (Denmark) expressed the belief that "an agreed solution of the question of S.W.A. would contribute to bringing greater peace and harmony to the problems now affecting the African continent and would to no small degree help to regularise conditions in this politically emerging continent." He added: "In suggesting that a new committee on S.W.A. be created for the purpose of examining as far as possible conditions in the Territory, we are aware that the task can only be undertaken fully if this new committee obtains the cooperation of the Union and we hope very sincerely that the Union will find it possible to cooperate with this committee in all possible ways." He drew attention to a statement by the representative of South Africa in a letter dated 20 September 1951 that: "There is always available essential information on the Territory of S.W.A. in the form of statistics, departmental reports, records of the S.A. Legislature, Blue Books and other governmental papers". MR. LANNUNG commented: "We are of the opinion that this sentence may be construed as giving reasonable basis to the U.N. of availing itself of such material."

One of the documents considered by the General Assembly was a letter (October 29, 1953) from HOSEA KUTAKO, Chief of the Herero Tribe in S.W.A., DAVID ROOS, for Chief DAVID WITBOOI of the Namas, and ERASTUS AMGASEB for the Berg Damaras. After pleading that S.W.A. be placed under the trusteeship of the U.N., they said: "The African people of S.W.A. are despised and neglected by the Union Government. The lands that originally belonged to the Nama, Herero and Berg Damara tribes have not yet been returned to them. Up to now, racial discrimination and legislation such as the Pass Laws, Masters & Servants Act and other Acts which are aimed at oppressing, impoverishing and treating the Africans as inferiors are still in force." The hope that the U.N. would send a Commission to S.W.A. was again reiterated.

Under the terms of the resolution the Committee will consist of seven members BRAZIL, MEXICO, NORWAY, PAKISTAN, SYRIA, THAILAND, and URUGUAY. It is requested to examine "within the scope of the Questionnaire adopted by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in 1926", information available on S.W.A., reports and petitions which may be submitted to the Committee or to the Secretary-General, and to transmit to the General Assembly a report on conditions in the Territory, and recommendations on a procedure for the examination of reports and petitions. The Committee is authorised to continue negotiations with the Union.

A second resolution was passed by 47 votes to one (South Africa) with 11 abstentions.

including the U.K. AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND and CANADA, which reiterated resolutions passed annually since 1946 that "the normal way of modifying the international status (of S.W.A.) would be to place it under the Trusteeship System".

2. Race Conflict in South Africa

The report submitted by the Commission set up in 1952 to examine the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa was debated for two weeks. Finally the Ad Hoc Political Committee put forward a resolution which was passed in the General Assembly by 37 votes to ten, with nine abstentions.

The resolution "noting with concern" that the Commission had concluded that "these policies and their consequences are contrary to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", and that "the continuance of this policy of apartheid would make peaceful solutions increasingly difficult and endanger friendly relations among nations" and "considering that in the Commission's own opinion the time available was too short for a thorough study" requested the Commission to continue its study, and to suggest measures which "would help to alleviate the situation and promote a peaceful settlement". The Government of the Union of South Africa was once again invited to extend its full cooperation to the Commission.

The UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, FRANCE, BELGIUM, GREECE, COLOMBIA and the NETHERLANDS voted against the resolution, and the U.S. and the SCANDINAVIAN countries were among the abstainers.

SIR WALTER HANKINSON, the U.K. delegate, said H.M.G.'s view was that the General Assembly was not competent to consider the item because it dealt with matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the South African Government. Therefore the Commission's report was "illegal" and its activities were also regarded as illegal. He pointed out that there were many arguments on the question of competence, and that the Commission's report only quoted authors who supported their view that the work of the Commission did not constitute "intervention" in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

The Chairman of the Commission SENOR HERNAN SANTA CRUZ of Chile, in a speech to the Ad Hoc Political Committee drew attention to the contention of the United Kingdom Government that under Article 2(7) of the Charter the establishment of the Commission was unconstitutional, and pointed out that "under the Charter, the Assembly is empowered to undertake any investigations and make any recommendations to Member States that it deems desirable concerning the application and enforcement of the purposes and principles of the Charter" and that such a study does not constitute "an intervention" within the meaning of Article 2(7). He added that "an institution created in the interest of international peace and harmony and to promote human progress should not be converted to an instrument of discord, used for unwarranted attacks upon one of its Member States", and recognised the fact "that in greater or lesser degree in nearly all countries condition exist which fall below the ideals proclaimed at San Francisco." But, in signing the Charter States took on certain obligations to make every effort, in good faith, to adjust their legislation, their practices and customs in accordance with the principles of the Charter, as speedily as national conditions and international cooperation may permit." The Commission had therefore confined its analysis of the discriminatory laws of the Union of S.A. to those promulgated since the Charter was signed.

SR. SANTA CRUZ said that the Commission had been obliged to reach the conclusions contained in its report. The policy of the Union, in the opinion of the Commission is "opposed to the principles of the Charter, and, because of the special circumstances which are analysed in the report, endangers not only the domestic peace of the country concerned but are likely to impair the general welfare, or the friendly relations among nations." Recognizing the enormous complexity of the South African problem, Sr. SANTA CRUZ described how "Existing prejudices have been formed in the

course of centuries and are rooted in the minds of thousands of human beings, to which must be added a philosophy and a doctrine which seeks to give to these prejudices a moral justification." Because of this reality "so complex and so peculiar", the Commission had not contented itself with formulating conclusions but made suggestions on the form in which, in their opinion "international cooperation might assist the Union, in the full exercise of its sovereignty, to resolve the serious problem which confronts it."

He added that in an objective and cold study of the entire previous history of concrete cases of violations of human rights imputed to various countries and studied by the General Assembly, he had found that in almost all cases "the element of political antagonism was present, as was the desire to reveal the country accused as being in an awkward position vis-a-vis world public opinion." Thus was obscured the single objective justifying the international community in its concern with a situation occurring within the frontiers of a sovereign State - "the objective of assisting in the creation, the re-establishment or the perfecting of the standard of respect for human personality and dignity, which constitutes one of the essential bases of international peace and friendship." As a result of the introduction of the political factor in many cases no progress had been made. In his opinion the solution was not, as some maintained, for the U.N. to refrain from dealing with these questions. On the contrary, he believed it was the duty of the U.N. to be concerned. "A solution must be found completely free of any element alien to the sincere desire to assist. If this method of understanding and cooperation is adopted it would seem that the U.N. has a great opportunity to cooperate with the Government and the people of South Africa, in an effort to improve inter-racial relations on the basis of the principles of the Charter." The Commission had made recommendations as to ways in which the U.N. and the Specialized Agencies could contribute in cooperating with South Africa in planning projects to "facilitate the maintenance of peaceful relations between the various ethnical groups . . . in giving technical assistance in accordance with the principles of the U.N. in educational policies and programmes, public health, the improvement of agricultural methods housing the improvement of productivity, science, the social sciences and many other forms of assistance". . . .

Describing the Commission's Report, the *New York Herald Tribune* (November 1, 1953) said: "Both the report and the Assembly action underlined the fact that the situation in South Africa is approaching - and not slowly, either - the critical stage." He quoted the Report's conclusion that "as the apartheid policy develops the situation it has made is constantly being aggravated and daily becomes less open to settlement by conciliation, persuasion, information or education: daily becomes more explosive and more menacing to internal peace and to the foreign relations of . . . South Africa." The paper describes as "paradoxical" the Commission's suggestion that the U.N. offer South Africa "at an opportune moment, all the material and intellectual assistance which an international organisation should and can give to one of its members in difficulty" at a time when DR. MALAN was describing the U.N. as a "cancer eating at the peace and tranquillity of the world".

The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the S.A. INDIAN CONGRESS have acclaimed the Commission's report as a major contribution towards achieving racial harmony and the establishment of a true democracy in South Africa.

3. The Treatment of Indian Peoples in South Africa

By 42 votes to one (South Africa) with 17 abstentions, the General Assembly passed a resolution re-appointing the Good Offices Commission, consisting of CUBA, SYRIA and YUGOSLAVIA, to assist India and Pakistan and South Africa to resume negotiations to settle the problem of Indians in the Union, and called upon the Union Government to cooperate with the Commission.

4. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

During the Fourth Committee's consideration of this question, the delegates of Syria, Egypt and India drew attention to the establishment of a Central African federation. No mention had been made by the British Government of the constitutional changes affecting Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in its report on the economic, social and educational conditions in those countries. A letter from the REV. MICHAEL SCOTT was circulated enclosing a petition and copies of letters from 83 CHIEFS OF NYASALAND and others, text of treaties concerning Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, legal opinions, and a copy of the petition by the Chiefs of Nyasaland to H.M. the Queen.

In a cable to the Secretary-General of the U.N. the NYASALAND CHIEFS and CONGRESS expressed their gratitude that their petition against federation was referred to in discussions in the Fourth Commission. They added: "Opposition still unchanged. Trust matter is referred to the International Court and that United Nations will take continued interest. Scott is authorised to speak for us." It was signed by CHIEF KUNTAJA, for CHIEF MWASE, President of the Nyasaland Chiefs' Union, and MR. J.R. CHINYAMA, President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress.

MRS. MENON of India feared that unless attention was paid by the Committee to events in Central Africa, a memorandum from the United Kingdom Delegation might be received in a few months' time stating that it would not send further information regarding Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia because "there had been a change in political status". She therefore asked that the item be kept open on the agenda.

LORD HUDSON, the U.K. delegate, opposed the suggestion on the grounds that the Committee had no authority to open a debate on the topic and pointed out that there was no authority for the Committee on Non-Self-Governing territories to accept petitions or representations from individuals.

MRS. MENON quoted from the report submitted by the U.K. in 1952 on Nyasaland: "There are no serious problems of race and cultural relations in Nyasaland. The economic and cultural gaps between Africans and Non-African communities are gradually closing. The legal position of Africans is safeguarded by the Royal instructions whereby persons not of European birth or descent may not be subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which Europeans are not liable." She added: "It is not wrong or illegal if this Committee asks for information on the future of these plans and programmes (of health and educational expansion and training in self-government) in view of the new constitutional status." Later in the debate she drew attention to the situation in Kenya and the deposition of the KABAKA OF UGANDA and said they "were typical of the general trends in those parts of Africa which came under the protection of the United Kingdom." She asked for assurances that the change in the political status of the Protectorates would not leave them outside the scope of Article 73(e) of the Charter.

MR. W.A.C. MATHIESON of the United Kingdom said he would not comment on the statement made by the representative of India as the substance of her statement was outside the scope of the Committee.

5 Financing of Technical Aid Work for 1954

By December 1 the equivalent of \$23,755,711 had been pledged to help the economic development of under-developed countries during 1954. Every one of the Member States except the Union of South Africa contributed. This is the first year that pledges have been given by the Soviet countries. Italy (not a member of the United Nations) also contributed. (U.N. Bulletin)

C. HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

Bechuanaland Protectorate

In a debate in the African Advisory Council of Bechuanaland, the following were among points made in support of a request that a Legislative Council be established in the Protectorate:-

CHIEF BATHOEN II said: "We are not the only Territory which is under the British Government - there are other Colonies inhabited by Africans in Central Africa and elsewhere. In those colonies such Legislative Councils have already been established. I have met such people personally who are members of such a Council and I do not think that they are better educated than we are. When Native Treasuries were instituted some people said we would never manage to run these Treasuries well, but we have managed. I do not think that if such a Council could be started it would be too much for us. To speak is not the same thing as to look after a slippery matter like money."

A representative of the Tlokwengwaketse, M.L. KGASA said: "Progress in civilisation is a determining factor in effecting changes among people. He pointed out that in some cases the aristocracy may hinder progress in government, but in this case it was the aristocracy who were the protagonists of the scheme for a Legislative Council. A Legislative Council, he said, would fulfil the too often unpopular but reasonable dictum that "taxation of a people should be followed up by representation of the people in the framing of laws." Furthermore, a Legislative Council would dispel the deep seated belief in the average Motswana that all Europeans who come into the territory have come to take away the land and our cattle. This belief leads to mistrust and a Legislative Council would in addition remove mistrust and bring about goodwill, co-operation, benevolence and unity in diversity. The late Earl Baldwin in one of his essays, 'This Torch of Freedom', said "the authentic note in democracy is that the man in the street feels he is governing himself". The formation of a Legislative Council would give the people in this Territory this same attitude of mind. If this is done I visualise a time when government machinery will work better, and save time and money."

MATLABAPHIRI SANKOLOBA (BAKWENA) said - "It is about 57 years since the formation of this Protectorate. Usually a caretaker of a child is interested if she sees that child trying to walk or run: it would not interest a caretaker nor will it interest a mother or a father of such a child if the child is not eager to walk and run."

TSHEKEDI KHAMA (BAKWENA), supporting the move for a Legislative Council, said: "The unexplained delay in the creation of a Legislative Council for any one of these three High Commission Territories in Southern Africa breeds a suspicion in the minds of many people. We fear that this delay has a deeper meaning than we realise. Some critics feel this question continues to be shelved in order to placate the Government of the Union of South Africa. For our part, we feel that a Legislative Council is in fact one of the protections necessary against any political aggressive measures which the neighbouring governments may direct against us. It is only through a properly constituted Council that the true feelings of the people can be expressed when, for instance, consideration is given to the demands which will sooner or later be made by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa for the inclusion of the Protectorates into the Union of South Africa. We are told that the policy of the British Government with regard to the dependent countries is to ensure that these countries will shoulder an ever increasing part in the government of their own affairs. Some people have said that the guiding principle in relation to the development of a backward Territory should be the aspirations of the Native people, the aspirations of the colonists and the Imperial control. It is doubtful whether this is the case with regard to Bechuanaland today. With respect, may I say here that we appear to be dealing with the aspirations of the officials and Imperial control. To explain what I mean, may I take as an illustration the ranching project at Motetse and the Lobatsi abattoir scheme? These

suggestions do not appear to be the suggestions of the inhabitants of the Territory. I make no reference to the merits of the undertakings, as they may well tend to be of immense benefit to the Protectorate. I am merely suggesting that if the Africans and the settlers had a fair chance in the formation of these projects they may have made suggestions different to what we have today."

TSHEKEDI KHAMA went on to say that: "a Legislative Council is in a sense an executive body of a number of local bodies of which the Advisory Council is one. Members of any council which is without any means of enforcing its decisions, either partially or wholly, are bound sooner or later to lose interest in the work of the Council. This state has been reached as regards the African Advisory Council

In 1933 SIR ALAN PIMM, after making a survey of the financial and economic position of the Protectorate, reported as follows: (P. 50, para. 72 of his Report). "Under the conditions prevailing in Bechuanaland, which have been set out in earlier Chapters of this Report, administrative expenditure must tend to exceed the resources available to meet it. The imposition of a European Administration, with all its attendant Departments over a Native organisation, involves to a certain extent what almost amounts to duplication of staff, and the introduction of a new and powerful element in the shape of a European minority necessarily leads to requirements which would not be felt at all to the same extent in a purely Native territory. Another equal if not more important factor in increasing expenditure is the necessity of determining the strengths of the staffs of some Departments in accordance not so much with local necessities as with the standard set by more wealthy neighbouring countries".

"That report was published in 1933 and so far nothing appears to have been done to remedy these defects

"We suggest that the inclusion of African members in committees appointed to examine the economic responsibilities of the country may go a long way in altering the policy of the country. For one thing, as Chief Bathoen has pointed out, a Legislative Council may ensure a continuity of policy, and we earnestly ask the Protectorate Government to give immediate and serious consideration to the establishment of a Legislative Council before the matter becomes a controversial affair and a subject for agitation with all its attendant consequences and appliances "

The Acting Resident Commissioner in reply quoted the Secretary of State: "The answer is that in the opinion of everybody who knows the area they are not ready for such far-reaching measures as self-governing immediately. There are a great many people who are keen to have things for which they are not quite ready. We ourselves are a fully fledged democracy and are proud to be so, but it has taken us 700 years to get there and I am not always certain that we manage it very well now. To try to rush these people into a system which would be so alien would be, I believe, to court disaster. It must take time. The great thing is that they should take the first steps early and that these are what one may describe as infant steps in democracy and so begin in the sphere of local government. We are trying to arrange that."

Continuing, he said: "In that reply the Secretary of State referred to arrangements being made to educate people in the sphere of local government. Well as you know, the Native Treasuries are part and parcel of that set up, but arrangements are being made for a number of the Africans in this Territory to visit other Central and East African Territories to study local government in those countries. That I tell you as the last words by the Secretary of State on this matter "

D. SOUTH AFRICA

Union Church Conference on Race Issues

More than 150 delegates representing nearly 40 Protestant Churches in South Africa attended a Conference in Pretoria. Official observers included representatives from the Diplomatic Corps and from Government Departments. The REV. DR. NORMAN GOODALL, of the International Missionary Council, was present. Foreign representatives included missionary boards or councils from the U.S.A., Germany, Britain, Sweden, Finland, Norway, France, Switzerland and Scotland. In all, 28 English and foreign religious bodies were represented as well as the six Afrikaans churches and the five Afrikaans mission churches. Among the speakers from the Dutch Reformed Churches were PROF. B.B. KEET of the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch, who said there was no doubt about the essential unity of the church of Christ, but the danger in South Africa was that one forgot the unity and emphasised the diversity in such a manner that one could not see it as anything but apartheid. He believed that those who wanted to maintain apartheid on biblical grounds were labouring under this misunderstanding. They confused apartheid and attitude of life, with a diversity which included unity. PROF. KEET said that differences of colour or even social standing could not be used as the basis for separation.

The Moderator of the Synod of the Nederduitse Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk in the Transvaal and Chairman of the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa, REV. C.B. BRINK, said that there can be no doubt that "God willed the separate existence of nations. The rise and continuation of separate peoples and nations is according to Scripture, in accordance with the will of God. Attempts at unification, the equalitarian idea, is a revival of the Babylonish spirit."

Statement by the Synod of the Diocese of Christchurch, New Zealand

A motion expressing the Synod's deep concern at the action of New Zealand in voting through its representative in the U.N. General Assembly, against the motion that the South African Government's apartheid policy be placed on the Assembly's Agenda, was passed.

The motion deplored that New Zealand should act in defiance of the consistent lead given by official representatives and synods of Christian churches throughout the world. In moving it, the REV. D.M. TAYLOR, said: "The coloured people of South Africa are crying to the world for pity, yet New Zealand is one of the countries that votes against their rights being brought up in the U.N. I think our Government has made this mistake ... because it has not heard the Christian voice in this country."

Seconding the motion, ARCHDEACON W.W. AVERILL said: "Discrimination against any human beings on the grounds of race or colour is definitely against Christian principles ... The South African Church looks to the rest of the world to support it against a dictatorship no less than the dictatorship of Hitler." The BISHOP OF CHRISTCHURCH, the RT. REV. A.E. WARREN described the issue as "one of the most pressing problems before the Christian world today." (*The Press*, Christchurch, October 9, 1953)

E. CENTRAL AFRICA

1. Federal Elections

The FEDERAL PARTY won 24 out of the 26 constituency seats. Only the leader of the CONFEDERATES (MR. DENDY YOUNG) was elected from that party and DR. ALEXANDER SCOTT (leader of the disbanded PROGRESSIVE PARTY) who stood as an Independent, was elected for Lusaka. The three European members representing African interests are: REV. P. IBBOTSON (elected by S. Rhodesian voters), REV. A.B. DOIG, Church of Scotland missionary (nominated from Nyasaland), and DR. J.F.C. HASLAM, former Director of Medical Services

(nominated from N. Rhodesia). The African members elected from S. Rhodesia are J. Z. SAVANHU and H. M. HOVE, both editors of African newspapers; from Nyasaland W. MANOAH CHIRWA and C. R. KUMBIKANO (both leaders of the African National Congress); and from Northern Rhodesia, DAUTI YAMBA and M. KAKUMBI.

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS is the first Federal Prime Minister, and SIR ROY WELENSKY his Deputy, will be Minister of Transport and Communications. SIR MALCOLM BARROW, managing director of Nyasa Tea Estates Ltd. will be Minister of Commerce & Industry

The first Federal Parliament will meet on February 2. "One of its first tests" writes HUGH LATIMER in *The Observer* (December 20, 1953) will be a definition of federal citizenship and the right to vote."

SIR ROY WELENSKY, in a speech to the Bulawayo Caledonian Society on November 30, 1953, said "Our next goal is no less than Dominion status - a self-governing Dominion in Central Africa". He added "To reach that goal we will not only have to prove that we can stand on our own feet financially and economically, and that we can shoulder such burdens as defence and foreign representation ... We must also prove that our politics are mature and stable, and that all our inhabitants are secure in the rights and privileges which they have earned ..."

2. NORTHERN RHODESIA

Industrial Colour Bar

MR. R. L. PRAIN of The Selection Trust, in the course of an address to the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies in London, expressed his personal opinion of the present position in the Copper Belt as being "quite untenable in principle and practice. Three distinguished commissions have reached almost unanimous opinions on the colour bar. Yet nothing has been done - although the companies have implemented every other finding - for more wages, improved housing, etc." The African union numbers 40,000 as against 6,000 Europeans said Mr. PRAIN and are ready to advance in certain jobs if only these were open to them. He submitted that the Government should take action in breaking the colour bar. "The Government has consistently shirked this issue. It is claimed that they have no powers. If it were so, why have they made the statements they have? ... There are now two problems: acceptance of the principle of African advancement, and the practical problem of how you put an African into a European job, and what you pay him." Mr. PRAIN pointed out that comparatively few Africans were ready for advancement, and it would be far better to accept the principle of advancement at this stage than have masses of Africans suddenly advancing later. The suggestion of equal pay for equal work sounded plausible, but taken literally, it would mean the end of African aspirations. He suggested the Belgian Congo formula was worth studying. If a carpenter earning £100 a month in Africa would be paid £60 in England, that would be considered the standard rate. An efficiency ratio would then be applied, which would perhaps evaluate the African carpenter's monthly wage at £30. Africans would certainly consider such a formula fair. Mr. PRAIN said the change that was inevitable was not likely to take place under conditions of gradualness. "The subject is a challenge to the European claim of leadership without domination and to the liberal principles of British Colonial policy." (*East Africa & Rhodesia*, December 3, 1953)

Editorial comment in *The Times* (December 29, 1953) said that SIR ERNEST OPPENHEIMER, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation had put the case for caution in methods for breaking the industrial colour bar, while the Selection Trust, of which Mr. PRAIN is the spokesman, "appears to be in favour of drastic action, even, perhaps, to the point of breaking the wages agreement with the European union. That would, of course cause a European strike." But if discussions with the European union dragged on much longer *The Times* pointed out, "the Copperbelt may be threatened with an African strike." Admitting the difficulties in the dispute, the article concluded that to find solutions is, however, surely not beyond the wit of man, given

a common determination. Any bar to the fair progression of Africans in industry will remain a canker at the heart of race relations. That some working compromise should be found quickly is highly necessary. The sands are running out."

Meanwhile MR. LAWRENCE KATILUNGU, President of the Northern Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union and of the African Trades Union Congress, has made it clear that the African union is reluctant to abandon the principle of equal pay for equal work. Pending the outcome of negotiations on this issue he said that African trade unionists would press for immediate advancement through an assessment being made of the value of work done by Africans and Europeans in mines. On the basis of such assessment many Africans should be advanced through their jobs being regraded into new categories to which higher rates of pay would be applicable.

3. NYASALAND

Requests for Inquiry into Disturbances

The Executive Committee of the Africa Bureau issued the following press statement on December 6, 1953, urging the Secretary of State for the Colonies to appoint an Independent Commission of Enquiry into the disturbances that took place in Nyasaland in August and September.

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the recent disturbances in the Southern Province of Nyasaland has now been published. The Commission consisted of the Chief Justice of Nyasaland (Mr. R.O. Sinclair), Mr. C.E. Snell, and Mr. K.E. Mposa. M.L.C.

The main finding of the events leading up to the disturbances at Cholo and Luchenza Estates is that the allegation that a European farmer murdered two Africans is unfounded. It was the spreading of this rumour which started the disturbances. The Commission considers that the shooting at Luchenza was due to two African policemen both accidentally firing shots because of their inexperience in handling firearms.

The Commission, however, deals only with the two incidents at Luchenza and Cholo which were within its terms of reference. IT MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE SUBSEQUENT DISTURBANCES THAT RESULTED IN ELEVEN AFRICANS BEING KILLED AND MANY INJURED AND ARRESTED. The report does refer in passing to the background to the disturbances. These are set out as follows:-

We were informed by Mr. Martin, the District Commissioner for Cholo District, that for many years there has been latent discontent in the district on account of the amount of land privately owned and the existence of 'thangate' rent payable by Africans resident on private estates under the Natives on Private Estates Ordinance (Cap. 78), now replaced by the Africans on Private Estates Ordinance 1952. He said that the Native Administration in the District has never been stable because it is not based on a hereditary basis in the same way as some of the bigger chieftainships, and because 75 per cent of the population are Alomwe from Portuguese East Africa who have been entering the Protectorate over a period of many years. Recent political discussions on current issues added to the uneasiness of the African population and increased the instability of the Native Administration. This resulted in a general lack of discipline. No actual trouble occurred, however, until December 1952, when, so Mr. Barnes, the Provincial Commissioner of the Southern Province informed us, there were some incidents on the British Central Africa Company's Estate, partly due to the increased rent payable under the Africans on Private Estates Ordinance 1952. About the middle of this year the tension increased. Taxes came in very slowly and people were refusing to pay beer fees and other licence fees and to attend native courts. Unauthorised cutting and cutting of trees on private estates commenced.

The Commission points out that:

"We are of opinion that the causes of this discontent and unrest do not come within our terms of reference and we make no comment thereon, but the fact that there was discontent and unrest is relevant to the disturbances which are the subject of this Enquiry."

SO FAR AS THE SERIOUS DISTURBANCES THAT OCCURRED IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE OF NYASALAND ARE CONCERNED, THEREFORE, NO ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO ORDER AN INDEPENDENT ENQUIRY, ALTHOUGH ALMOST THREE MONTHS HAVE ELAPSED. This is an unfortunate state of affairs, especially in view of the fact that it is the traditional practice of the Colonial Office to order impartial investigations in the case of all serious disturbances in the Colonies where loss of life has occurred. That no attempt has been made to do so in Nyasaland is, in our opinion, a grave omission as well as being a departure from normal practice.

It is for this reason that the Executive Committee urges upon Her Majesty's Government that an impartial judicial Commission should be despatched without delay to Nyasaland to enquire into the actual events connected with the disturbances, as well as with the background to the disturbances, and with terms of reference wide enough to permit of a complete investigation being made and of the submission of recommendations for remedial action, should this be found necessary.

The Governor of Nyasaland, SIR GEOFFREY COLBY, has told the Legislative Council of Nyasaland that "the outbreaks of violence in the Southern Province were the culmination of a campaign of subversive and false propaganda which had been going on for a period of two or three years, during which members of the African Congress, encouraged by trouble makers from outside this territory, directed their efforts to misleading the people and undermining confidence in the administration... There is no doubt that the disorders were the direct result of the action of members of the Nyasaland Congress and their associates - action which persisted in spite of repeated warnings that disturbances and misery would be the inevitable result... After paying tribute to the restraint of the police and contingents from the Rhodesias and Tanganyika, the Governor added that "at present conditions in the Southern Province are more settled than they have been for some years. But there are no grounds for complacency. In any multi-racial society there are inevitable stresses and strains, and constant effort is needed to ease them... In parts of the Southern Province there are grave problems of congestion and over-population, both on trust land and on some private estates. There is not enough land to go round. This means that an increasing proportion of the population will become landless and dependent entirely on wages for their livelihood. The system whereby in the past the wage earner supplemented his earnings by subsistence agriculture must be progressively replaced by a wage economy, and employers will, I hope, recognise this important fact. Improved housing for Africans and other amenities both in rural and urban areas are urgently needed and will pay dividends in stability and contentment among African employees. Africans for their part must realise that these improvements in their living standards and conditions must be accompanied by a substantial improvement in their output..." (*East Africa & Rhodesia*, December 17, 1953)

The REV. R. SORENSEN M.P., in a debate in the House of Commons (December 16, 1953), drew attention to the situation in the Shire Highlands and said: "The disturbances which have arisen have been aggravated by the emotional backwash of what has happened in Central Africa. The Africans feel, rightly or wrongly, that their Protectorate will be swamped by the domination of a minority of whites in Nyasaland. It is no good saying that the Africans are foolish and that we will not treat with them, or that we know what is good for them and that their prejudice must be overborne. We have to understand the deeper reasons agitating those people in Nyasaland... I want to know why a more positive attempt has not been made to deal with the question of land. There was an inquiry and we have had its report, but it touches only the beginning of the disturbances. I have read the

report from beginning to end, but I could find no reference at all to the later events which caused the death of 11 people. Here is an opportunity for the Colonial Secretary to show that he is consistent in what he professes. He should send out to Nyasaland an impartial judicial inquiry to investigate not merely the circumstances leading to the death of the 11, but also the whole question of land tenure, for this would create practical confidence, to the material benefit of the Africans, as well as, one hopes, to their political satisfaction.

Contempt of Court

MRS. EIRENE WHITE M.P. asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what action had been taken by the Government of Nyasaland following the publication of the official communique in the *Nyasaland Times* which led to a fine of £100 being imposed on the editor for contempt of court (See Digest No. 12). MR. LYTTLETON replied: "On 12th October the Nyasaland Government published a statement deeply regretting that a sentence which might be taken to carry certain imputations against the persons concerned should have found its way into the communique. Steps have been taken to ensure that further cases of this kind will not occur."

Suspended Sentences for Congress Leaders

Messrs. LAWRENCE MAPEMBA and HARTWELL SOLOMON (the Nyasa poet) who were charged with sedition, have both received suspended sentences.

F. EAST AFRICA

I. Uganda

Withdrawal of Recognition from the Kabaka of Buganda

The LUKIKO (Buganda Parliament) adopted the following resolution: "We the Baganda, chiefs and people, have great grief at the deposition and deportation of H.M. the Kabaka Mutesa II. We hereby request H.M. Government to reconsider its decision of deposing and deporting our Kabaka, and to allow him to be restored back to us, because we are deeply fond of him, and because it was we, the members of the Lukiko, who passed the resolution which led to the present situation."

The UGANDA NATIONAL CONGRESS in a statement said: "There is still every hope that Uganda will gain its right of self-government without any recourse to violent action. Even though the British Government has chosen to insult the king and his people, there is a chance that this decision will be reversed and a suitable apology made. Therefore we call upon the people of Uganda not to take any violent actions which would prejudice their legitimate rights. Justice is on the side of the king and his people."

In the British Government's WHITE PAPER (Cmd. 9028) the events leading up to the banishment of the KABAKA are described, beginning with the speech made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on June 30th, in which MR. LYTTLETON mentioned the possibility of federation of the East African territories. Within five weeks the KABAKA had

written to the Governor, SIR ANDREW COHEN and 'raised two entirely new demands' that responsibility for the affairs of Buganda should be transferred to the Foreign Office and that H.M.G. should 'prepare and put into effect a plan designed to achieve our independence, and if possible within a short stated space of time'. On August 10th the Governor met the Kabaka and discussed with him at length the terms of his letter. The Kabaka made it clear that he was asking for independence for Buganda only and that he was in fact asking for separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate. He also said that he put forward his requests because he did not regard the pledge on federation that had just been given as satisfactory ..."

In the course of a number of meetings with the Governor, at some of which his Ministers were present, the Kabaka refused to withdraw these demands although subsequently a satisfactory assurance was obtained on the question of federation. On October 27 the Kabaka also made it clear that, in view of the unwillingness of the Lukiko to nominate Buganda members to the new Legislative Council of Uganda, he would himself no longer be willing to nominate them, and did not think the Buganda should sit on the council at all.

The Governor had explained that a refusal to give undertakings to withdraw these demands, and to refrain from publicly opposing the decisions of H.M.G. to nominate Buganda members to the Legislative Council, and to reaffirm Article 3 and the first part of Article 6 of the 1900 Agreement between Britain and Uganda, would constitute a breach of the Agreement which declared "So long as the Kabaka ... shall cooperate loyally with Her Majesty's Government in the organisation and administration of the said kingdom of Uganda, H.M.G. agrees to recognise the Kabaka of Uganda as the Native Ruler of the province of Uganda under Her Majesty's protection and over-rule." The Kabaka, states the White Paper, "had made it crystal clear that nothing could change his attitude on the demand for a timetable for the independence of Buganda and his intended defiance of the decisions by H.M.G. on this issue. The Governor was therefore obliged to sign a formal document notifying the Kabaka that H.M.G. had withdrawn recognition from him under Article 6 of the Agreement ...". On November 30 the Kabaka was deported to Britain.

The LUKIKO sent a delegation to London to appeal for the return of the Kabaka. The Delegation consisted of Mr MUGWANYA (the Chief Justice) and Messrs. A.K. SEMPA, E.M.K. MULIRA, T.A.K. MAKUMBI and A.K. KIRONDE. In a reply to the White Paper (December 21, 1953) the DELEGATION described the insecurity that had been growing among the people of Uganda because of fear of federation and of "the cumulative effect of non-African immigration" into Uganda. Pointing out that Central African federation "was imposed despite the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the African people" they state that although the Colonial Secretary gave assurances regarding East African federation after his speech on June 30, the only one that was satisfactory was one given to the Kabaka in a secret document made public only after his deposition.

In explaining the reasons for African suspicions of economic, industrial, commercial and political development, the memorandum says such development is welcomed but that Africans "would rather forego all the benefits of these developments if they bring in their wake political and economic domination by outsiders". South Africa and Central Africa are cited as examples. If H.M.G. is to succeed in regaining the confidence of Africans, the delegation says "it must be sure to take the Africans with them in every stage of development. Its failure to do so in Uganda is the reason for the sequence of events following on Mr. Lyttelton's statement on Federation."

With regard to the Kabaka's refusal to nominate Buganda members to the Legislative Council the delegation state that the Kabaka was acting on the advice of the Lukiko and that the omission of this fact from the White Paper is a serious one. They point out that figures of the new Legislative Council (14 Africans, 7 Asians, 7 Europeans and a cross-bench of 10 members chosen by the Governor) are disproportionate to the population (5 million Africans, 4,000 Europeans, 35,000 Asians) and that there is no guarantee that the other races will not out-number the Africans on the cross-bench.

The White Paper's description of the Kabaka's demand that Buganda should be separated from the rest of Uganda is answered by the statement that the request for Buganda self government has been misconstrued by H M G as a demand for an independent Buganda. This is completely erroneous. The Lukiko can only speak for Buganda. To have done otherwise would have been acting in a manner outside its proper jurisdiction. In support of this the delegation quote a letter sent by the four rulers of the States of Uganda to the Governor in which they express their apprehensions on federation and also on their status and suggest as "the only feasible solution" "an entire and effective revision of the relationships which now exist between Her Majesty's Government and our respective States". The fact that this letter was omitted from the White Paper is regarded by the delegation as most significant.

The delegation describes the crux of the dispute with the British Government, having made it clear that throughout the Kabaka acted in response to public opinion, and did not himself initiate it, and that the Kabaka enjoys the full support of his Minister, the Lukiko and his people. The Governor insisted that the Kabaka, in transmitting to the Lukiko the Governor's reply rejecting the request for Buganda self government and transfer to the Foreign Office, should do so without indicating his own feelings in this matter. The Governor in fact, went further. He insisted that the Kabaka should, contrary to his own conscience, commend the Governor's policy to the Lukiko. Here the Kabaka was confronted by a cruel dilemma. Such indeed was the question which the Kabaka repeatedly put before the Governor: was he to be loyal to his own conscience and his people or to the British Government? There is good reason to suggest that had he obeyed the Governor he might have discredited himself in the eyes of his people and so invited intense opposition and possibly deposition by his own people. In this situation he chose to stand by his conscience and his people. The punishment was deposition by the British Government.

The Delegation's views are summarised as follows:

1. On the question of East African Federation the last assurances given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies are accepted.
2. The Secretary of State's assurance that it is the policy of H M G that Uganda should be developed as an African state is welcomed as offering a satisfactory basis in regard to nominating members to the Legislative Council.
3. The assurance that it is H M G's policy to encourage the development of Uganda towards self government as an African state is accepted and settles the request for Buganda independence.
4. For these reasons too the question of transfer to the Foreign Office naturally falls away.
5. It is our sincere desire that our beloved Kabaka shall be restored to his people and that the present negotiations between the Colonial Secretary and ourselves will lead to acceptance of this most ardent wish.

The delegation in conclusion stress their desire to move towards self government in the Commonwealth and to seek understanding between their people and Britain. It should not be impossible to reach true understanding and agreement. But patience and goodwill must take the place of impatience and suspicion.

On December 22, 1953, the Colonial Secretary MR. LYTTLETON informed the KABAKA and the DELEGATION that the decision of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw recognition from him as Native ruler of Buganda could not be altered. This conclusion had been reached after consultation with the GOVERNOR. The official statement said that the Government had to bear in mind that after an interval of only a few months the Kabaka completely went back on a joint declaration by himself

and the Governor, issued last March on the future of Buganda: that he maintained this attitude throughout six long interviews with the Governor in the course of which the serious consequences of his persistence were made plain to him ... His offer to retract, coming only after withdrawal of recognition, cannot in any way be regarded as having the same worth as an acceptance by him of H.M.G.'s decision before that happened. Having regard to this and to his earlier record as the Native ruler of Buganda, H.M.G. have concluded that the Kabaka could not be relied upon to cooperate loyally with them as required by the agreement."

Writing in the *Observer* (December 20, 1953) COLIN LEGUM said: "Failure to reach an agreement in London this week could have serious repercussions in Buganda. According to information received from Uganda ... plans are being made to launch a campaign of non-cooperation with the Government if the Colonial Secretary does not reach an honourable agreement with the delegation ... Meanwhile the flames of suspicion are being fed by demands in some British and settler papers for even stronger action against the Buganda leaders."

The DELEGATION in a press statement (December 23) expressed their profound disappointment at the Cabinet's decision and again pointed out that the KABAKA had throughout acted as the "mouthpiece of his Ministers and the Lukiko." The statement continued: "It is with a measure of utmost gravity that we warn the British Government, Parliament and people of the possible long-term results of the disruption through external forces of the Buganda's traditional system of social organisation ... We are sure that the Christian conscience of Britain will not allow its leaders to remain silent on this issue. More especially, since a genuine effort was made by the Kabaka and by us to seek an honourable agreement."

A Colonial Office spokesman said that as far as the Colonial Office was concerned the matter was closed. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 24, 1953)

In editorial comment *The Times* (December 23, 1953) said: "The name of MUTESA is revered as far south as the Zambesi through the memory of the great chief MUTESA I, who first welcomed SPEKE to Uganda in 1862. The wound will not be confined to Buganda. The deposition of the KABAKA must, therefore, prompt the deepest heartsearchings. The fears which have led up to the present situation in Buganda may all be traced to one source. This is the single and all-embracing fear that Uganda was losing its character as a 'native state' and taking on that of a multi-racial one." The article concludes that "had matters been handled in a different way Buganda fears might have been allayed without recourse to the deposition of the Kabaka" and records the "inescapable" impression that the impasse of the virtual impossibility of MR. LYTTLETON rescinding his decision "need never have been reached."

In a letter to *The Times* (December 31, 1953) MR. HARRY H.S. KNOX said: "The people of Uganda were then (In Queen Victoria's day) outstanding for their ability and loyalty. Under our parental guidance they have prospered. It will indeed be a tragedy if we forget that one of the privileges of a parent is to forgive."

MRS. EIRENE WHITE M.P., writing to *The Times* (January 1, 1954) points out that the national pride of the Buganda people has been slighted and the developing idea that the Kabaka should act as a constitutional monarch, relying on the advice of his Ministers and Lukiko, has received a rude check. Such a development is incompatible with the principle supported by Mr. Lyttelton and the Governor that, regardless of his advisers, the Kabaka must act in complete subservience to the British Government or be pronounced guilty of breaking the agreement of 1900. Deposing the Kabaka does not solve this constitutional conundrum ... Meanwhile, great emotional damage has been done, to what end it is hard to see. Two major fears underlay the Baganda's demands - federation and the loss of status by Africans under

future industrialisation. On both they have received pledges though judging by the extremely casual way in which the vital assurance on the African future of Uganda was drawn from Mr. Lyttelton by me during the debate, no effort had been made to meet justifiable apprehensions on this point before the crisis reached a climax. Having had the assurances the Kabaka and his Lukiko delegation withdrew the demands. What more did Mr. Lyttelton want? The final official statement mentioned the Kabaka's earlier record as Native ruler. If this is part of the case why was it never put to Parliament or mentioned in the White Paper? The handling of this affair is bound to leave mistrust in yet another community in British Africa."

GENERAL BUCKLEY, the Chairman of The Uganda Company Ltd., writing to *The Times* (January 5, 1953) said "Important plans for industrialization are proceeding and these have carried the support of public opinion in the Protectorate as a whole. There has never been any question but that Uganda should develop as an African State, nor any ground for believing that the presence of experts from outside, made necessary by industrial development, would endanger that policy any more than it has done in the Gold Coast or Nigeria." GENERAL BUCKLEY said that the Kabaka brought the withdrawal of recognition on himself and that "such an act is not in its nature reversible".

A Muganda student in London, S. JOSHUA L. ZAKE in the same issue wrote: "The Kabaka is the very heart of our social structure, and his removal disrupts the whole nation. Even if a new Kabaka is forced upon the country, which I sincerely hope will never happen, the people during the lifetime of Mutesa II, will nevertheless always regard him as their rightful king."

In a letter to *East Africa & Rhodesia* (January 7, 1954), the former Bishop of Uganda, the RT. REV. C.E. STUART, said that when he left Uganda a year ago (after being there as Bishop for over 20 years) things were peaceful largely due to the love and trust that all Africans had in SIR ANDREW COHEN, the Governor. "Then came that speech by MR. LYTTTELTON at the East African dinner. It cannot be denied that that speech was the firing point of all the trouble." And from that speech, BISHOP STUART pointed out, arose the two demands and one refusal made by the people, though possibly from a small section only. There is no evidence that I know of that the KABAKA inspired them, but if he did his people certainly agreed with him. Then came the deposition and deportation. This, was I believe, a blunder, but a blunder of the Secretary of State, not the Governor, even though SIR ANDREW, like all sensitive people who do what they hate to have to do, may have acted with more than usual brusqueness. After describing the situation that followed, and the agreement of the KABAKA and the BUGANDA DELEGATION to everything the Secretary of State asked, the BISHOP said: "The Secretary of State has argued that because some months ago the Kabaka agreed and then went back on his agreement, it is not possible to trust him. Has no politician ever changed his mind? If the Secretary of State likes people whose minds are closed and who never listen to reason, perhaps that accounts for some of the tragedies in the Colonial Empire at present. I believe the position can still be retrieved by the return of the Kabaka and a new era of understanding, cooperation, and happiness beginning in Uganda."

The Editor of *East Africa & Rhodesia* (January 7, 1954) writes that the general charge made by one of his correspondents that the Government of Uganda has facilitated the work of dangerous anti-social agitators by its refusal to take action against them, even when they openly incite the public to disloyalty and violence, is supported by private letters he has received, and that among his correspondents are some of the most responsible men in Uganda. A correspondent calling himself 'Practice better than Precept' writes: "The extremist, the agitator and the trouble-maker, although unsupported by the large majority of the African population in Uganda, seem to have been courted by the Administration to the disadvantage of those who have earnestly set themselves to secure a successful evolution through established and recognized forms of Government understood by the people themselves. It is not understood why strong and firm action should have been taken against the Kabaka, who represented an established order of African government, while condonation, if not actual encouragement, is the portion of those who have in the recent past preached

non-cooperation and have hurled abuse not only against the Protectorate Government but against the Buganda Government."

Two members of the BUGANDA DELEGATION, including the CHIEF JUSTICE, returned to Uganda to report to the Lukiko. The Lukiko then passed a resolution in the course of which they respectfully and regretfully suggest, because the loyal subjects of the Kabaka are observing a state of mourning, and the people are deeply stirred and troubled, and because their traditional ruler "is not, as would be required by custom, able to receive the Queen, that the visit of Her Majesty to Buganda be postponed at this time." The resolution adds: "There is no disloyalty on our part to the Queen. Those who witnessed the spontaneous warmth accorded to ... the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret when they passed through Buganda last year ... can testify to the feelings of the Baganda people."

In editorial comment the *East African Standard*, (January 7, 1954) after commending the Baganda people and the Kabaka's Ministers for their admirable behaviour, and for their restraint in the present situation said: "Orthodoxy, in terms of past practices in Colonial relationships, is outmoded. It has changed under the pressure of trends and influences which are stirring nations, great and small, throughout the world. It has to be replaced by a more elastic, more realistic and understanding approach which avoids rigid situations, opens new doors to agreement and seeks always to appreciate as important the point of view and processes of thought of the other side. There is room, therefore, for reconsideration of the problem presented in Buganda. There is room for a re-examination of the constitutional questions underlying it, in the light of the undoubted progress which the Baganda have made compared with the progress in other parts of the Protectorate." The article points out: "Such risks as there may be in thus recognising the claims of the Baganda are much to be preferred before the building up of hatreds, frustration, and the certainty of exploitation of them at a moment in the future which would seem to be appropriate to irresponsible and impatient elements which such a situation invariably fosters."

The Buganda delegation issued a press statement (January 10, 1954) reporting on the visit of Mr. MUGWANYA and Mr. MULIRA to Buganda and on the fact that the people there were firmly united behind the Kabaka and insistent on his return.

They said: "A state of national mourning has been declared ... This will last during the absence of the Kabaka from Buganda." Meanwhile the three Rulers of BUNYORO, of TORO and of ANKOLE, have written to the Governor of Uganda and the Colonial Secretary, "asking for the restoration of the Kabaka of Buganda." Mr. MUGWANYA and Mr. MULIRA reported that the Rulers had pointed out that "according to the new system of our Councils we are required to act according to the opinions and wishes of the majority of the said Councils. The Governor will therefore not fail to realise the difficult position with which we are confronted, and which the Kabaka himself faced when or if we are asked to do anything which contradicts the expressed wishes or inclinations of our people."

The Delegation intend "to use all constitutional and legal procedures open to us to arouse the British public and Parliament to our awareness of the terrible injustice which has been done to our people ... We have been asked by our people to address an urgent appeal to Britain to keep faith with Africa and not to allow their Government to destroy the good relations which former representatives of Church and State have laboured to establish between Uganda and the British Commonwealth."

The Delegation will remain in the United Kingdom for some time to "campaign for the vindication of the honour of our beloved Kabaka and to seek his restoration."

2. Kenya

Muslim Leaders' Views

SIR EBOO PIRBHAI member of the Kenya Legislative Council in a statement welcoming the liberalism expressed in the policy statement of the European elected members, said: "On the other hand, the continued insistence of the Europeans that there must be no change in the existing policy with regard to land will tend to perpetuate one of the biggest of the barriers against mutual understanding. . . . The only right to the occupancy of land in Kenya should be based upon the ability of the occupant to develop it to the full." Referring to development of the constitution SIR EBOO said "any such development must recognize that the Muslim and non-Muslim communities are two separate entities. In the proposed discussions there must be recognition of this and of the fact that a large percentage of the Muslim community in Kenya have been born and bred here and have never seen any other country." Another point made concerned immigration which "to be successful must be governed by two provisions. The first that the welfare and interests of those who have been born and bred in the Colony are not allowed to suffer and that immigrants are in a position to contribute to the welfare of the Colony by technical skill, by finance, or by providing those qualities so essential in the development of a young country." In conclusion SIR EBOO said: "The time is far from near when any form of breakaway from the Colonial Office can be considered, and therefore any question of people who participate in the Government being responsible to separate electorates must be treated with caution and will need very careful consideration."

Policy of the Kenya Indian Congress

Among the fundamental rights outlined in the KENYA INDIAN CONGRESS Statement of Policy are the following

Protection of the economic and political interests of the indigenous people until the African community reaches a level of civilisation enjoyed by other races:
Abolition of discriminatory laws and practices
Allocation of portfolios to Non-Europeans with recognition of the fact that the position of Non Europeans appointed to portfolios would differ materially from that of their European non-official colleagues since in practice the holders of portfolios would require the support of the Executive and Legislative Councils both of which are dominated by Europeans (Congress however will agree to acceptance by Indians of portfolios on the clear condition that each of the three main races is given an equal number of portfolios simultaneously)
Parity of representation for different races on the Legislative Council as a temporary measure while the racial basis of the franchise remains
A common roll based on a restricted franchise side by side with existing communal franchise with qualifications being educational attainments (say 4 years of schooling) and (in the case of males only) an annual income of say £100 or occupation of property of the value of say £200

Among other points the following is included in recommendations on Immigration policy:

- "The main racial groups should have equal representation on the Immigration Control Board
- "An appeal to the Supreme Court by way of rehearing against all decisions of the Principal Immigration Officers as well as those of the Immigration Control Board and the Immigration Appeals Tribunal should be abolished."

Statement by the Provost of Malrobi and European and African Laymen

The following are extracts from a memorandum prepared by the PROVOST OF NAIROBI and laymen:-

"The Church still needs to hear the bold voice of the prophet, probably the most powerful weapon there is, for the awakening of conscience. The minister of God must not fear misunderstanding or criticism if this prophetic role is laid upon him. He will speak with the more courage on issues in which no reasonable doubt can be held when he is speaking with the support of, and after consultation with, lay members of his congregation."

"A matter of supreme importance is the reluctance of laymen and laywomen from our congregations to take part in politics and public service. Among Africans this is especially marked. We feel that the lack of lay Christian leadership of moderate opinion is one of this country's greatest weaknesses."

"We must work for the total abolition of the colour bar, and ask that, to begin with, the hotel authorities make it quite clear that no one will be excluded from their amenities on grounds of race alone."

"... We consider that the politicians should be putting their minds to evolving a form of constitution in which fear of insecurity is removed from European, African and Asian, alike, for this fear breeds suspicion, hatred, arrogance and contempt. The European leaders must have the courage to face the implications of increased African and Asian participation in public affairs ..."

Resolution by Liberal Party

The following resolution was adopted by the Council of the Liberal Party in London on December 12, 1953:

"This Council, supporting all proper measures necessary to restore civil peace in Kenya; aware of its high duty to safeguard the human rights of all Her Majesty's subjects whatever their colour; and jealous of the high and deserved reputation of Her Majesty's armed forces, is shocked by signs of undisciplined, unlawful, and brutal acts on the part of the Security Forces in Kenya.

"It believes that such acts are not only wrong in themselves, but if unchecked, will lose this country the support of neutral opinion and the confidence of subject-peoples everywhere and, further, that such conduct is destructive not only of the character of those associated with it, but also of military honour and discipline.

"It regards the terms of reference of the Military Court of Inquiry set up to investigate certain allegations made at a recent Court Martial as too narrow; in particular, they should be enlarged to report on the treatment of the wounded.

"It further calls for enquiries by an independent Tribunal into wider issues which have been raised and, in particular, into the promise by the Kenya Government to re-employ one of their Officers on his release from gaol, where he is at present serving a sentence for assaults upon Africans in Tanganyika, and the matters disclosed in the trial in September 1953, of an Officer of the Kenya Police Reserve and a Sergeant of the Kenya Regiment."

G. WEST AFRICA

Nigeria

A report has recently been published in Northern Nigeria on "The Exchange of Customary Presents which, according to editorial comment in *West Africa* (December 12, 1953) analyses the roots in the social system of an important part of the widespread corruption in Northern Native Authorities and makes definite recommendations to deal with it.

"The Committee's appointment arose out of the need nowadays to distinguish between legitimate 'customary gifts', from inferiors to superiors and vice-versa, and bribery." As a result of its recommendations the Northern Executive Council has agreed that draft legislation should be prepared to make certain customary gifts illegal. An elaborate publicity campaign was recommended, as well as the putting of minor functionaries on salaries or wages instead of letting them have an unofficial 'tribute' or the like.

West Africa points out that "an evil that is admitted and analysed is nearer to extinction than one denied and concealed" and expresses the hope that corruption will finally be dealt with by public opinion, "the only instrument that can really be successful".

REPORT OF THE AFRICA BUREAU

Attention is drawn to the Report of the Africa Bureau, a copy of which is enclosed. The report gives an outline of the work accomplished by the Bureau during the first eighteen months of its existence and an indication of its plans for the future. It is now quite clear that a great need exists for an organisation which can continually provide reliable background material on African problems, can assist reputable African leaders and delegations in presenting their policies to the British public, and can influence British policy on African issues. The Africa Bureau has set out to accomplish these objects and the extent of its achievement will depend upon the financial resources at its disposal. At the moment these resources are far too meagre to permit of essential work being done. Subscriptions to the Digest and publications hardly cover the cost of publication. It is therefore urged that those readers who feel a real concern for British African relations should make a contribution to this work by sending donations to

The Africa Bureau
69 Great Peter Street.
London S.W. 1.

